595 that of females and which has been recognised by physiology, has its effect also amongst Natives, and, in ordinary circumstances, women are not more numerous than men in Bantu tribes. Many men are monogamists, not from choice, but by force of circumstances. Others are wandering about in Johannesburg, or Kimberley, and marry later in life, whilst girls marry much earlier. In the villages round Lourenço Marques the headman often has two or three wives. Three is however an unusual number. The chiefs, of course, take more, and Mubvesha, for instance, the chief of Nondwane, had as many as thirty. In the Gaza country chiefs go even further, at least they used to do so in the good old times, under Gungunyane. Bingwane, the chief of the Ba-Tswa, had so many wives that he hardly knew them and at any rate did not know all his children.

595 What is the origin of the custom? It might be assumed to be a remnant of the old system of group marriage, supposing the Bantus to have also passed through that stage of family evolution. At one time all the men of a group would have considered as their wives all the women of another group, and vice versa. It was a state of polygamy and polyandry at the same time. The fear of the matlulana (page 265) put a stop to polyandry, and polygamy alone survived. Or it might be supposed that monogamy existed first and that polygamy appeared later, owing to the following reasons: 1) *Wars* diminished the number of men. As women were not anxious to remain "old maids," and as the tribe wanted to make the most of them, in order to increase and strengthen itself, the unmarried ones were taken by married men and so the polygamic family arose. In fact polygamy was very much fostered by the Gungunyane wars, during the historic 595 period. Every year the Ngoni chief planned expeditions against 567 his Ba-Chopi enemies on the coast, north of the mouth of the Limpopo. Men were killed and women enslaved, and each of these became the wife of her capturer. The position of these slaves was not very bad: however they were called *tinhloko*, heads, (a word which has the same meaning as heads of cattle), and could be sold by their owner. A great many of these Chopi women were bought in and round Lourenço Marques, before the suppression

182 621 783 829 mourning over the dead. The inner connexion existing between these three events is that, in all of them, there is a passage. Hence the resemblance of the rites. This striking similarity is, to my mind, the best proof that the passage rites constitute a peculiar category. When a headman has decided to move, he leaves his old kraal, he *separates* from it, not by the ordinary gate, but by a special opening made at the back of the village. He is not allowed to return to it again. Then, for him and for all his people, begins a *marginal period* of one month or more, the buhlapfa (notice the prefix *bu* which indicates a period here, as in busahana [page 42]). We see the village, during these few weeks, put beyond the pale of society. The ordinary laws are suspended, (licencious songs), and many special taboos are enforced (prohibition of sexual relations, fire taboo, water taboo, etc.), just as in the period of mourning; at last the village returns to the ordinary course of life by a final act of purification, the mysterious *hlamba ndjaka*, which seems to be the most powerful means of cleansing the collective life. This last ceremony shows that, here, the marginal period has been instituted on account of the uncleaness, the impurity of the old village. Let us remember that in most cases the village has been moved on account of death! All the adult members of the social organism take part in the cleansing (at least in the Northern clans) and so the village begins a new and purified life. No one can deny the deep significance of all these rites and the mystic conception of the Thonga village.

C. THE HEADMAN AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE VILLAGE.

596 576 621 618 Each village thus possesses its superior (hosi), its master. He is called *munumzane* or *numzane*, a curious expression which is also employed in Zulu ; it means owner of a kraal, gentleman, and is often used in saluting grown up men. We have seen the mystic relation between the headman and his *muti*. The village, the muti, is the primitive social organism. The clan (tiko), which is the gathering of all the *miti*, reproduces all the features of the village life on a large scale. So the *numzane* corresponds to the *hosi*, chief of the tribe. Both certainly possess great authority,
622 596

622 but it must not become tyrannical. They must govern for the
596 benefit of their subordinates.
264 This peculiar position of the numzane amongst his people is
554 illustrated, in a striking way, by the laws of distribution of the joints of meat on the day when the headman kills an ox to feast them. The various portions must be distributed to the relatives according to the place which they occupy in the family. The headman, nominal proprietor of the ox, will keep the breast (shifuba). This is not only the sternum and the ribs, but most of the viscera which are contained in them. The tripe, the heart, the kidneys will be put all together inside the stomach, and constitute what is called *nkopfu wa homu*. The headman will probably send the heart and the kidneys to his wives (tinkosikazi, his queens!). The brother who comes next will receive one of the hindlegs ; the third in rank one of the forelegs. The elder son will eat the second hindleg, and the younger son the second foreleg. They will eat this meat with their families, or houses (tiyindlu). This custom is very old (1).

Let us continue with the distribution. To the brothers-in-law, or to the relatives-in-law generally, the tail is sent. It is the portion of the sister. But it does not consist only of the tail properly so-called ; it comprises all the hind parts of the animal, especially the rump (kondjo). The malume (maternal uncle) receives part of the loins (muhlubula). The liver is put aside for the grandfather and the old people generally, because it is soft and they have no teeth to gnaw the bones. The head belongs to all the men of the village, who must eat it on the hubo, as we have seen. They may give the tongue (ndjaka) to the old men. It

622 (1) This custom is illustrated in a very interesting manner by the relative position
596 of the three clans occupying the South of the Bay. They are all descended from
264 Tembe (See page 23). *Tembe*, the ancestor, representing the elder branch of the
554 royal family, ate the chest. He was the superior (hosi), and this rank is still held by his descendants in the direct line. *Sabi* or Mpanyele, the second brother, or son of the second brother, ate the hindleg ; he was established later on in the Mathuthweni
618 district, between Tembe and Maputju. *Maputju*, the younger brother, head of the third branch, ate the foreleg. But he revolted against his elder brother and carved out for himself a kingdom which very soon became stronger than those of Tembe and Mathuthweni. Mathuthweni became more or less independent. But when people wish to remind the Maputju people of their inferior origin, they say to them : "Tembe ate the breast, Sabi the hindleg and Maputju the foreleg !"

622 is taboo for the women to eat it, or the under lip (See p. 184).
576 From each limb a small piece is taken (tshumbuta) and
264 placed on a skewer; it is the portion of the shepherds and of
554 the butchers, (makotjo ya babyisi). (See the tale of Piti, *Chants et Contes des Ba-Ronga*, page 152). Sometimes the shepherds also receive the lungs and the spleen.

This way of distributing ox meat is called "ku tlhaba homu ba hamba milao," viz., "to kill an ox according to rule." Should a younger brother or a son kill an ox, he will send the breast to the master of the village, but he keeps all the limbs and does not observe the rules because, as he says: "It is enough to pay taxes to the chief of the country." Often one of the legs is sent to the chief of the clan.

Strange to say when a goat is killed none of these prescribed rules are followed, as they only concern the oxen.

622 These customs show clearly the position of the headman;
596 he is the master but also the father of his subordinates, and their provider.

1) He must *watch* over the village (basopa, Dutch word passop, universally adopted by the Natives). During the night, if his son is away working in Johannesburg, he takes care that no lovers come into the huts of his daughters-in-law, (a langusa bumbuye), and if he happens to catch one, he will make him pay the fine.

622 2) He is a true *justice of peace* amongst the inmates of the
692 village, doing his best to maintain good relations amongst them.
578 Suppose for instance that the pigs belonging to one of the inhab-
685 itants come out of their enclosure and over-run the gardens of another man. This man will go and say to the owner of the pigs:
643 "Such and such a thing has happened, please close the pigs' kraal more carefully." Should the same thing happen a second time, he will complain to the *numzane*. The headman will then go to the culprit and say: "You have not heeded the warning; you must pay compensation (djiha)." If the culprit listens to the "voice of the blood" (bushaka), he will obey and the matter will end smoothly; if not, the headman can only keep silent: he has no soldiers, no means of enforcing his judgment; the plaintiff will then go to the chief of the tribe to complain. The case will be

judged before the Court, in the capital, because the offender has refused to follow the way of persuasion, he has "mocked the family love" (a yalile bushaka). Such misdemeanours are very frequent in the life of the village. Most of the Natives bear philosophically with these annoyances. Should some one, however, be really ill-natured, and wear out their patience (wa ku karata), he will be forced to build a hut for himself, alone, outside the village. If the damage is done by *children*, if they have stolen sweet potatoes, as we have seen, the wronged proprietor gives them a good thrashing but does not claim a fine. Occasionally the headman himself thrashes them in presence of their father, and the father will say to them: "You see the numzane will beat you if you are not good." Children who mock at cripples are also severely beaten by him, all the more so as, in this case, the offended party has the right of claiming a fine.

3) The headman also possesses *authority over his younger brothers and his children*. He can even confiscate their money if one of them is addicted to drinking and ruins his property. However his authority in this respect must not be overstepped, and the headman must take care how he exercises it, as it is based more or less on sufferance. The younger brothers, for instance, maintain the right of making contracts, especially lobola contracts. Should the numzane restrict their liberty too much, they will leave him and found their own villages. A successful headman is he who knows how to keep the whole family together to the general satisfaction.

4) The headman has also the right of imposing *statute labour*, especially when the oxen kraal must be rebuilt, or when the weeds must be removed from the hubo ; he sends his young men to do the work. But he must not exact too much from his people or forget to feast them with beer or with meat when the work is finished.

5) Lastly the headman *presides over all the discussions* which take place in the village. He is the master of the hubo. The discussion can be conducted in three different places ; when it deals with a secret matter, the men go *inside the hut* : they debate the matter indoors (ba bulabula ndlwen). Private questions

622 affecting the life of the village are generally settled there.
596 Questions discussed with strangers and those regarding which there is no secrecy, and in which every one can take part, are discussed *on the central square*, on the "hubo". *Hubo* means the square, and also the council of the men of the village which the headman summons there to settle matters (ku khanela timhaka). Should they be able to come to an agreement together or with their visitors who have come to bring a claim, the matter is "cut" (ba tjema mhaka), viz., "ended". In the opposite case, when they disagree altogether, the question will be carried to a third place, before the *hubo of the chief*, in the capital. (See Part III).

562 Every one is welcome to take part in the discussions except women. As a rule men speak as little as possible with women on these matters. If a husband has a sensible, discreet wife, he may ask her advice. But if he has agreed with his companions on a point and changes his mind after having spoken with his wife, he will be severely blamed and accused of "spoiling the village" (hona muti).

622 The headman is more or less *responsible for all the claims*
596 lodged against his subordinates. Should one of his younger
672 brothers be prosecuted for a debt, the creditors will go to the numzane, and he cannot say: "This matter does not concern me." He will say to his brother: "Pay your debt," and, if the brother has no funds, he will help him, if possible, but it is only a loan, and the younger brother will pay back the money. As a rule members of the same family help each other in these matters. This is so much the custom that children are expected to pay the debts of their deceased parents, even if they have not inherited anything from them. This does not however procede from a moral sense of family dignity. They do it because the native authorities hold them responsible. They might be "arrested". In the case of a father who has died still owing some lobola money, the children will try to pay, but they will do it in order to obtain possession of the woman. Should a father have committed adultery with a married woman, and die without having paid the fine, his heirs are not considered responsible. On the other hand, if the father has been condemned as a wizard

622 by the chief, and dies, his heirs must pay the compensation
546 claimed. All these rules clearly illustrate the communism of
672 family life and family property, under the supervision of the headman.

Should a numzane be absolutely unable to govern his village, 622 *the family council can depose him* and put another man in his 596 place. This council will be formed of old relatives, especially the paternal uncles to whom the younger brothers will go and complain of the misbehaviour of their headman. A younger brother will then be proclaimed and the elder will be despised. They will say : "Hi singe! A fahla muti, a hluli hi muti!" "He is a fool! He breaks the village ; he is overcome by the village," viz., not able to keep up his position.

As regards the *law of succession* to the headmanship, the second brother takes the place of the elder, and so on. The son of the elder cannot become headman until all his paternal uncles are dead. We shall find this principle also observed in the succession of the chiefs. (Part III.)

D. DAILY LIFE IN THE VILLAGE.

461 From the oxen kraal to the huts, from the square to the little wood, through the doors and in the reed yards, black forms are moving to and fro. Everybody seems busy. There is talking, laughing, playing and working. The expression "working like a nigger" is hardly applicable, for they do not kill themselves with work. It would, however, be quite as great a mistake to believe that the Natives spend all their time in loafing about. Far from it!

I. *Women's occupations.*

462 Women, especially, are very busy. When the sun rises, they
511 emerge from their huts, wash their faces, and light a little fire to warm the mealie pap which was left from the evening meal.

1: Junod M-5 (1895-1909) 1927 Thonga

273 musical instinct. Some days later, another headman invites his
574 neighbours to another beer-drinking, and so they eat and drink
622 together (ba delana, ba nwelana) as long as there is plenty in
595 the storehouses. When provisions become scarce, they begin to spare the mealies. But the advantage of the polygamist becomes apparent here; his storehouses are many and he can feast his friends for many months.

These beer-drinking customs are essentially demoralising; they

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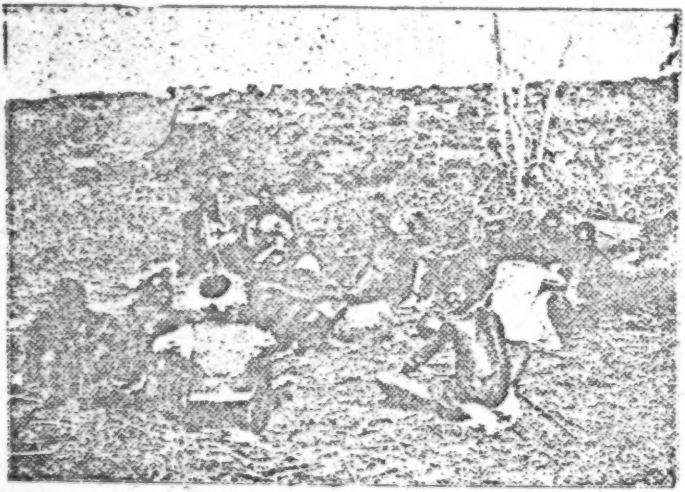

Phot. A. Bertl.

Beer-drinking party in Maputju country.

are one of the curses of primitive Native life. But let me remark that, as the making of the beer takes nine days, these excesses cannot be very frequent, and the habit of drinking wine at the White man's store is ten times more harmful, as in this case alcohol is never lacking. We shall speak later on of alcoholism amongst Natives. (See Part IV.)

276 Another pastime, very much appreciated by some, but not so
248 general, is *hemp smoking* and the accompanying *saliva contest*. Hemp (mbange) has been cultivated for a considerable time amongst the Thongas, especially on the coast, not to make ropes, but for smoking.

832 376 593 152 572 Even a husband never kissed his wife. On coming back from a journey, a man would hardly greet his wife ; she would see him passing through the village, prepare food for him, and when it was cooked, she would come and salute him by presenting it to him. But if he has a good friend in the village, and if this friend sees him coming back after a long absence, their meeting will be much more touching. The friend will go to the main entrance of the village, exclaim : "Ha-Ha," take his parcel from his hands, put his arms round his shoulders (a ku mu buso hi mandla), remove the perspiration from his face, and pat him gently, saying : "Your ancestor-gods have their eyes open! They have worked well! They have brought you back."

574 609 622 *Hospitality.* When strangers enter a village, men sit on the *bandla*, and women go further on and sit on the *hubo* ; they remain quietly there till the people of the village come and salute them (losa). Should the inhabitants delay too long, the visitors move on, saying : "These people are not good." But this is very rare. Generally the master of the village comes to them, inquiring who they are, whence they come, where they are going, and asks them : "Do you wish to spend the night here ?" If they say : "Yes," the headman will empty one of his huts by putting two of his wives together, and will himself sleep with the visitors. Should there still be food, he will give them some. If not, he says : 574 609 622 203 195 "*Ndlala*!" "Starvation!" After a little while, a mat is unrolled and the official ceremony of "djungulisana" takes place. This is a very amusing custom. The headman sits together with his hosts and enquires about the news of their home. One of the visitors begins in a monotonous tone and pours forth volubly a flow of words with a peculiar cadence and almost without taking breath. His interlocutor interrupts him after each sentence, with "Ahina, hina," that is to say "Indeed, indeed!" till the whole skein is unwound ; the two men finish with a longer "*Hina*," the inhabitants of the hut adding an emphatic "*khani*," a heartfelt "thank you ;" then the master of the village begins to relate his own news in the same tone. It is impossible to 574 609 imagine anything more curious than this "mélopée" in two parts. This law of hospitality is general all over the tribe. Should

643 584 day is fixed for a visit to the capital where it will be concluded.

Let us consider the procedure in the case of the marriage of Ñwamantibyane, the youthful chief of Mpfumo, who has since been exiled. The following account of the discussion preparatory to the marriage is given on the authority of Tobane, a witness of the proceedings, and will aptly illustrate the etiquette observed on such occasions.

643 584 651 622 The dignitaries are assembled, and one of them, the brother of the deceased chief, commences thus: "Well, you the chiefs of Mpfumo! In truth! If we are assembled here to-day, is it not that we have truly seen that we must, in fact, increase the chief, and give him the wife of the country? This is all the business, you, the chiefs." One of those addressed replies: "In putting the matter before us, hast thou been unequal to the task? (No! understood.) And we, what further words could we add? Nothing remains to be said... You then tell us what we shall have to give you, dwellers in the capital!" Then the secondary chiefs say: "For our part, we will give each one pound sterling or an ox, as you may prefer." The headmen of the villages will each contribute ten shillings and each village one shilling besides. In former times, before the circulation of money in the country, each one gave a hoe.

The secondary chiefs go back to their own districts and get together the money or the oxen as the case may be. This done, the fact is duly notified to the capital and all the contributions are conveyed to the chief. An account is kept of all monies or cattle contributed. When Ñwamantibyane was married the special subscription amounted to thirty pounds sterling and twenty oxen.

643 582 The future queen was chosen from the royal family of Matjolo; her name was Mimalengane. The young chief had only seen her on one occasion, when she was returning from Gaza. Nevertheless she was his first cousin once removed; Hamule, father of Zihlala and grandfather of Ñwamantibyane, married the sister of Malengane, chief of Matjolo, and his daughter was Mimalengane (the prefix *mi* signifies daughter of), who was now

643 585 644 during the whole of the first year of married life. The chief, immediately on the home-coming of his bride, calls together his young men, who rapidly build for him a new village, his village, which will henceforth become the capital of the country and will be given a distinctive name.

Nwamantibyane's royal kraal was known as Hlanzini, and he had chosen a site for it on the confines of the Nwamba country in order to avoid a too close proximity to the Portuguese Commandant living at Hangwana.

Crowned, married, installed in his new residence, the chief has now nothing to do but reign.

* * *

643 584 622 Mankhelu relates the proceedings of the official marriage amongst the Ba-Nkuna in the following manner : — All the principal headmen send an ox to the capital, assemble there, kill one of the oxen, eat it and discuss who shall be the "wife of the country (1)." They ask the chief : "Whom do you love ?" He answers : "The daughter of such and such a chief." They go to the father of this girl and say : "Eat the lobolo and give your daughter to the chief." The man may refuse. Should he consent, the girl will become the wife of the country : "the earth has bought her ;" she will give birth to the future chief.

Should a great number of oxen be provided by the country, those which are in excess of the lobola price will go with the chief and princess to their new village "in order to provide milk for them."

(1) In the case of Muhlaba, Mankhelu himself received the fifteen oxen of the lobolo of the village and kept them for a time. Other subjects had given £ 1, a hoe, a goat, or nothing, if they could not afford to contribute. Nobody refused, but some had nothing to give ! No matter ! In the meantime one of the oxen broke its leg. The mother of Muhlaba said to Mankhelu : "See ! the oxen of the lobolo die. Take a wife for the chief." Muhlaba was consulted and chose a girl from the Makaringe clan. Mankhelu had already taken a wife amongst these people, who were consequently his bakolwana. He went to them with the proposal ; they consented. Then Muhlaba accompanied Mankhelu on a second visit to the Makaringe people, who killed an ox for him and helped him to eat it !

l: Junod M-5 (1895-1909)1927 Thonga

2) Civil cases.

692 I will not assert that Thongas know the exact difference between
622 civil and criminal cases, the same tribunal judging them both and
643 all being called by the same name, milandju.

681 If any distinction is made, it would be between private and official cases, *private cases* being those which are settled by the two parties concerned alone, without the intervention of the chief ; whilst *official cases* are those in which the matter (mhaka) has been brought to the capital. As already explained, the headmen of the village try to settle the difficulties themselves ; if they succeed, all the better, as the fine will be reduced to its minimum, whilst, before the Court, the fine would be doubled and the chief would keep half of it!

691 Ninety per cent of the civil cases are in connection with *lobola*. These are sometimes most intricate and I would refer to the description already given of some of them (p. 282 and Appendix VIII).

691 *Divorce cases* are also common. When a woman has definitely
586 left her husband, her relatives must return the lobolo money.
643 "You must give up to them £ 5 or an ox," says Mankhelu. The
614 chief Mubvesha who was known for his avarice used to arrest the husband and make him pay £ 25 ; he returned £ 15 to the wife's relatives and kept £ 10 for himself.

When money is returned, the children belong to the mother (See page 279).

691 Many cases may occur in connection with *cattle*. The case of
643 *redhibition* is foreseen : when I buy an ox and it dies on my hands
437 from a disease which was not known at the date of my purchase but which already existed, I have the right to go and ask for another in its place. But I bring the skin of the dead ox with me and one hoe inside it for the meat which I have eaten. If the seller refuses to accept my claim, I go to the chief and complain. He will summon the recalcitrant person and say to him : "Did not this man act well when he put a hoe inside the skin ? Give him another ox!" (Mankhelu.)

423 643 By law the soil belongs to the Chief, but only that, through him, it may become general property. No one can buy land. It is gratuitously assigned to any and all who wish to settle in the country. The mere fact of *kondza*, viz., making submission to the chief (Vol. I, p. 433), entitles the Native to as much land as may be necessary for his subsistence.

423 622 It will be readily understood, however, that the supreme Chief, however small his territory may be, can hardly assume the duty of marking out the various small allotments for his subjects. In ordinary practice this is done by the headmen of the villages (numzane), the important men of the country, (I will call them A), who obtain the grant of considerable tracts of land, which they apportion amongst those under their jurisdiction. They and their near relatives cultivate the most fertile parts of these tracts, or districts, and when any one (say B) wishes to settle on their reserve, they "cut the bush" for him, "tjemela nhoba," to use the technical expression ; they accompany the would-be-settler to an uncultivated piece of land and together they fix the boundaries of a plot of ground which is then assigned to him. A tree, the corner of a lake, a well, or an anthill, may be used as landmarks in this primitive surveying operation. The new-comer will clear as much of the land as he can, till it, and the fields, together with the trees they contain, will become thenceforth his property. Should any of his relatives wish to settle near him, he will, in his turn, assign to them a portion of his land, which they may clear and cultivate ; and so the distribution continues. Supposing B is not satisfied with his allotment, or is unable to live on neighbourly terms with A, and builds his hut in some other spot, he cannot sell or otherwise dispose of his land, as it must revert to A, the original owner. On the other hand, should B die, his wife would inherit his gardens. Should father or mother die, the property would naturally pass to the sons, who would divide the fields between their wives. Thus we see that real estate is hereditary, but cannot be sold. A similar state of affairs would result should A, the numzane, who ranks almost as a petty chief, leave the country : all his rights in connection with the tract that he may have occupied for the last fifty years will cease with his departure.

423 428 622

It might be supposed that the title to real estate being gratuitously given, was not very secure. Quite the contrary! Once having assigned a plot of ground to B, A has no further interest in it; B is the absolute master of his land and of all that it produces. I recollect one day, at Rikatla, being almost dumbfounded when our own petty chief, Muzila, came to me and humbly asked permission to pick up some of the nkanye fruit, which I had left to rot on the ground! The land at the station (about 5 acres in extent) was granted to us by Maphunga, chief of Nondwane, and here was his relative and representative coming to me, requesting permission to make use of the produce of a tree which was useless to me! And he would, moreover, have made a like polite request to the meanest of his subjects, had he been desirous of making use of anything growing in that man's fields. I must admit that I have often admired the practical character of the Native law in this connection, and, still more so, the respect paid by the original proprietor to the individual to whom he has voluntarily assigned a portion of his land. It is, of course, entirely to the interest of the numzane to keep his protégé on his land, for he adds considerably to its value by cultivating an otherwise useless bush *(nhoba)*. He also helps to people his protector's tract of country, and thus to increase his strength; finally he makes certain payments in kind or rather in labour. The Chief gladly welcomes new-comers, as they will assist in the tilling of his fields each year, and the more labourers he has, the better for him! As for the headman of the village, the possessor of a "small country" (tikwana, dji-ma), his protégés will be always ready to do him a good turn on occasion, and he is therefore quite content to assign to them portions of his domain. Human nature is, however, much the same everywhere, and this system, which appears so perfect at first sight, has also its drawbacks. A numzane, or even a Chief, will give to his favourites the best pieces of land. A clever flatterer, or one knowing how to regale the great man with beer in due season, and thus gain his good graces, will be apt to receive an allotment of good, fertile forest land, while a less fortunate individual, out of favour at Court, will only get a piece of barren hill-side which has

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423 622 already been tilled and abandoned as exhausted. I noticed this at Rikatla. Muzila favoured his pagan subjects, who joined him in his drinking bouts, and invited him to orgies in their villages, at the expense of the Christians who no longer brew the byala beer. Thus interest at Court works here as elsewhere, although it be based on nothing nobler than pots of beer!

423 578 692 The difficulties of this system also become apparent in the more thickly populated parts of the country, where all the land has been assigned and taken up. The women look round for fresh arable land and may, wittingly or unwittingly, encroach on the ground of another numzane. There is, indeed, a neutral zone, vaguely defined, of which no one has as yet taken possession, as it has not been needed : the wild fruits growing there are common property ; any one who likes can gather them. When the population increases, the inhabitants of the more congested districts go and appropriate this land without any kind of formality. Such was the case when the people of Libombo, dwelling on the edge of the palm-marsh, (to the East of Rikatla), sent their women to the hill-side to clear a piece of land which Muzila considered to be his property. This petty chief sent remonstrances to Nkolele, his colleague, headman of the village of Libombo ; but they were not heeded. Then the men of Rikatla hid themselves in the bushes surrounding the spot in question, and, when the women commenced to hoe the ground, rushed out upon them, seized their hoes, and drove them off. This was the "fait patent," the actionable proceeding, which was necessary in order to have the matter brought before the Chief's tribunal. This incident doubtless led the parties interested to define their respective boundaries more carefully.

423 618 To go and till another's land would be quite impossible, even taboo, between people of different clans. In the present case, the Rikatla and Libombo men belonged to the same Nondwane country. There was a good understanding between them. The Rikatla men would not have dared to plough a field without permission on Mabota's ground, the boundary of which was on the other side of the big water-tree (muhlu).

As regards *boundary marks* between the different clans, they